

Repeal the Tariff, and the South would be entitled to consume or to sell three-fourths of the imports. But under existing circumstances — say the South consumes one half the imports — then the South, as consumers, pay duties or taxes of eleven and a half millions. The other half is consumed in the North and East — that is to say, they are consumed in consideration of their exports — and of course pay, as consumers, six millions of dollars — but the North and East are also to consume the residue of the imports, upon which five and a half millions of duties are to be paid. Now, how are the non-exporting States either to pay the five and a half millions, or to acquire the whole imports, upon which that sum is levied?

It is done precisely in the manner before stated — that is to say — although the South pays only half the taxes in the first instance, (or any other proportion, which, whatever it may be, is wholly immaterial, and leaves wholly unaffected the truth of the argument,) still the South has suffered the North to extract from the profits of Southern labour, by the enhanced prices of the domestic manufactures, a sum that enables the North to substitute itself as a consumer in place of the South, and actually to enjoy the fruits of which the South has been most unjustly stript by means of the Tariff.

So that, in fact, the South pays directly and indirectly upon consumption, near three-fourths — exceeding two thirds of the whole revenue of the Government collected upon imports. To give entire accuracy to the statement, it is necessary to deduct the amount of freight and the taxes upon the amount consumed, by those who substitute themselves as consumers, by reason of sales of unprotected articles in the South, the principal of which consists of live stock.

When we advert, sir, not only to the ruinous inequality in levying the taxes of this Government, but also to that other and more unequal operation — the disbursement of at least three-fourths of that revenue in the non-exporting States, we shall be able to discern the causes which have produced results so advantageous to the Tariff States, and so disastrous to the planting States.

Sir, it would be an alleviation of these evils, severe as they are upon a great section of the Union, if we could know that this policy augments the national wealth and the national prosperity. But, sir, such is not the fact. It is susceptible of dem-